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May Day

MAY DAY is the revolutionary holiday—the day of the class conscious proletariat.

This year it will dawn upon at least two Soviet Republics—Russia and Hungary—and perhaps more; for in these days a week is a long time in which to overturn a world. Bavaria appears to be consolidating her proletarian government. As we go to press, the Italian frontier is closed on account of "revolutionary events." Everywhere in Europe the proletariat is stirring or rising to take the power.

May Day of this year will be greeted by the European workers with many demonstrations of joy and hope. In many cities of this country, too, there are elaborate plans for uniting the working class in one demonstration for many working class causes. For instance, one group will hail the proletarian revolutions of Europe; another, protest the imprisonment of Mooney; another, unemployment; another will demand the withdrawal of American troops from Russia; and so on.

Only in New York we have made no extensive preparations for the great day. The Socialist Party will hold a series of protest meetings, in different parts of the city, for Debs; the Mooney Committee will have a Mooney mass-meeting in Madison Square Garden, in full control of the "yellow" labor leaders—the seats on the floor carefully distributed among the "good" unions, and the "reds" exiled to the gallery; and several foreign language Socialist Branches will celebrate the revolutions in Europe.

This gives the affair an aspect of scattered and half-hearted endeavor, whose effect as a demonstration will be entirely lost.

What ought to be done is to arrange a gigantic open air demonstration, or succession of demonstrations, uniting all proletarian elements in a mighty procession and meeting, whose size and spirit would carry the protests to the ears of those who only listen to great and determined economic power.

The workers should throw down their tools and declare a nation-wide May Day strike, combining with their holiday a blow at the foundations of the capitalist class, and a threat of more to come.

It is evident that nothing would be gained by a demonstration on a small scale—or by an Ellis Jones "revolution." The workers should come out on the street in vast numbers, paralyzing the city's industry, and parade peacefully to some central spot, where speeches can be made to fit the event.

If it is not possible to get fifty or a hundred

thousand workers out, then it would be better, under present conditions, not to attempt what would only result in provocation and violence on the part of the soldiers and the police.

The Peace Conference Breaking Up

THE world nowadays is acting very much as the Communist Manifesto says it ought to act. Nation by nation, the workers become aware of their class interests, rise, overthrow their rulers, and take into their own hands the reins of power. Absolutely according to Marxian theory do the various classes perform their part in the drama of Social Revolution, as if the hand of Marx were manipulating the strings that control them.

Capitalism is toppling over of its own sheer weight, spreading blood and death as it falls. At the throats of all the European Governments is the hand of their disillusioned workers. The Imperialists do not dare openly to oppose the armed masses they have created as cannon-fodder, they do not dare, for example, to hurl great armies upon the Russian and the Hungarian Revolutions. And yet they cannot move without bringing the Revolution ever nearer to their people.

The Peace Conference at Paris is breaking up. The imperialists cannot agree over the spoils of war. The war was begun by two great groups of capitalist nations competing for control of world markets. And now the victorious Powers are grabbing. And the irony of it is, *they do not dare not to grab!*

The workers of all European countries are exhausted and bitter. They say, "You hurled us into war. You made fine promises to us if we fought and won for you. Now what do we get?"

The Governments understand perfectly well what the workers mean. They want power to control their own lives, more leisure, more freedom, a greater share in the products of their toil. But of course the ruling-class cannot give the workers these things—it would cut down profits. So they say to themselves, the diplomats in secret council—"We've got to show something for this. We've got to turn to the workers and say, 'Look at what we conquered for our country!'" Of course the workers won't get anything out of it, but it will satisfy their patriotism to know that our flag waves over alien soil."

So when France seems to be balked of the Saar Valley, Clemenceau threatens the Big Four with revolution—unless the Saar Valley is annexed to satisfy the French workers. And when Italy seems about to lose Fiume, Sonnino says that unless Italian capitalists can exploit Fiume, the Italian working-class will go Bolshevik. And Japan, convinced that the Japanese workers will revolt unless China is handed over to Japanese capitalists to devour, also lays down her ultimatum. And the German capitalist raise the cry of "Bolshevism" more shrilly as the signing of the Peace Treaty draws nearer and nearer.

The French question was solved—let us hope that the fact that the tricolor waves over German

coal-mines will pacify the French coal-miners! But Wilson seems to be holding out against the claims of Italy and Japan.

If anything were needed to convince the workers of Europe—and of America—of the complete and cynical betrayal of all the 'ideals' for which they were persuaded to support the war, the situation of the peaceless Peace Conference in Paris ought to finish the job.

For a Party of Action

THE revolutionary Socialists of the world are in action. The American Socialist Party elects delegates to the Berne Conference, and collects money for a new headquarters. American Labor is stirring, awakening; Seattle, Butte, inaugurate the period of mass-strikes with a revolutionary meaning. The American Socialist Party is interested in a National Amnesty Conference which will include bourgeois liberal organizations.

The International working-class is on the march. The American Socialist Party marks time. It hesitates whether or not to approve the Bolsheviks; it is undecided whether or not to endorse the Spartacists; it can't make up its mind about revolutionary industrial unionism. It doesn't know quite whether social reform planks should be left out of Party platforms; it leans toward Labor Parties, Non-Partisan Leagues, and other reform bodies; it sits down calmly under Red Flag ordinances, deprivation of halls to speak in.

The Right Wing says that the Party is powerless because the Left Wing is splitting it—because of the internal strife provoked by the Left Wing. This is untrue. *The Left Wing was formed precisely because the Socialist Party is incapable of revolutionary action—because, in its present form, it is not a Party of the working-class, but a Party of compromise, dominated by petit-bourgeois psychology.* It can raise money—but it cannot call strikes. It can defy the Government and go to jail—but it cannot back up its own spokesmen. It can protest in the Board of Aldermen against the closing of the halls—but it cannot hold meetings.

We do not wish to break up the Party. We do not wish to paralyze the Party's power. We wish to make it effective. We want to make Socialism mean something in the United States. We want the Socialist Party to be a working-class Party.

The hostility of the Party officialdom to the Left Wing, and the methods they employ to combat us, prove clearly that they have not the cause of Socialism at heart, but instead, only the *Socialist Party*.

Primarily we are Socialists—afterward, Party members. A Socialist Party without Socialism, or impregnated with the "Socialism" of the Second International, is like an apple full of worms—it looks good on the outside, but it won't make any cider.

We Agree With You, Comrade

Editor of *The Communist*:

I have read the first issue of your paper and must say that if you "Leftwingers" have nothing better to show than a paper of this calibre, you must surely amount to nothing. The paper is full of hot air, badly written, and while reading it I could not help feeling like in the stoneware of "smelly" air.

It would be a Godsend if the labor movement would rid itself of you cursed "intellectuals" who are never happy unless you can make your wonderful "intellects" shine by stirring up more or less artificial troubles. To hell with most of you Dentists, Doctors, Professors, Poets, Lawyers, etc., etc., and let us "common workers" do our own thinking and emancipating without such Highbrows, who no doubt write *The Communist*, and waste the poor workers' money and energies into utter nothingness, and make a laughing stock of the Socialist movement.

JOHN GRAY.

DON'T GET SORE, BOYS. THEY DID IT FOR THE BEST!

"Debs is in prison. It is hard to keep down anger. It is hard to crush the deep resolve that some day we shall get even for all this. But we know he would not wish us to be angry; we know he would not wish to cherish hatred or seek revenge. And, even if we did not know that, our hearts tell us there is nothing in revenge or hatred. No satisfaction, only more misery. So all that we can do now is to hope they won't be cruel to him there. Men are often kinder than their governments."—*New York Call*.

Let's all kiss the Supreme Court!